# ANALYSIS OF A SOCIAL SITUATION IN MODERN ZULULAND

By MAX GLUCKMAN

## *A. THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF MODERN ZULULAND*

### 1. *Introduction*

The Union of South Africa is a national state inhabited by 2,003,512 Whites, 6,597,241 Blacks, and various other colour-groups.[1] They do not form a homogeneous community, for the State is constituted basically by its division into colour-groups of varying status. The social system of the Union therefore largely consists of inter-dependent relations between and within colour-groups as colour-groups.

In this article I deal with White-Black relations in Northern Zululand, where I worked for sixteen months in 1936 to 1938.[2] About two-fifths of the Union's Blacks live in areas reserved for them, which are distributed throughout the Union. Only certain types of Europeans (administrators, technical officials, missionaries, traders, recruiters) live in these reserves. From the reserves the Black men migrate for short periods to work for White farmers, industrialists and householders, then they return to their homes. Each reserve community of Blacks has close economic, political and other relations with the rest of the Union Black-White community. The structural problems in any reserve therefore largely consist in analysing how, and how far, the reserve is interlocked in the Union's social system, what within the reserve are Black-White relations, and how these relations are affected by, and affect, the structure of each colour-group.

In Northern Zululand I studied one territorial section of the Union's social system and traced its relationships with the whole system, but its dominant pattern probably resembles that of any other reserve in the

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[1] 767,984 Eurafricans-Eurasians (Coloured); 219,928 Asiatics. Figures according to the 1936 Census, Preliminary Report U.G. 50/1936.

[2] Financed by the National Bureau of Education and Social Research of the Union Department of Education (Carnegie Fund), whom I thank for their grant. I worked in the districts of Nongoma, Mahlabatini, Hlabisa, Ubombo, Ingwavuma, Ngotshe and Vryheid (see map of South Africa).

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Union.[1] Further, it possibly presents analogies with other areas within heterogeneous States where socially inferior groups (racial, political and economic) live separately from, but interrelated with, dominant groups. I am not making in this article any comparative study, but here note the wider setting of the problems with which I am concerned.

As a starting point for my analysis I describe a series of events as I recorded them on a single day. Social situations are a large part of the raw material of the anthropologist. They are the events he observes and from them and their inter-relationships in a particular society he abstracts the social structure, relationships, institutions, etc., of that society. By them, and by new situations, he must check the validity of his generalisations. As my approach to the sociological problems of modern Africa has not previously been made in the study of what is called " culture-contact," I am presenting this detailed material by which it can be criticised.[2] I have deliberately chosen these particular events from my note-books because they illustrate admirably the points I am at present trying to make, but I might equally well have selected many other events or cited day to day occurrences in modern Zululand life. I describe the events as I recorded them, instead of importing the form of the situation as I knew it from the whole structure of modern Zululand into my description, so that the force of my argument may be better appreciated.

## 2. *The Social Situations.*

In 1938 I was living in the homestead of Chief's Deputy Matolana Ndwandwe,[3] thirteen miles from the European magistracy and village of Nongoma and two miles from Mapopoma store. On January 7th I awoke at sunrise and with Matolana and my servant Richard Ntombela, who lives in a homestead about half-a-mile away, prepared to leave for Nongoma, to attend the opening of a bridge in the neighbouring district of Mahlabatini in the morning, and a magisterial district meeting at Nongoma magistracy in the afternoon. Richard, a Christian living with

[1] I may note here that Mrs. Hilda Kuper's researches in Swaziland, the neighbouring territory under British protection, show many of these similarities. I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Mrs. Kuper with whom I have discussed our results in detail. I cannot point by point indicate what I owe to her. My general debt is greatest to Drs. Evans-Pritchard and Fortes. Mr. Godfrey Wilson, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé and Professor Schapera have criticised the first draft of this paper for me.

[2] The technique of course has been widely used by other anthropologists; see below p.

[3] He is the Zulu King's (who was then legally only chief of the small Usuthu tribe) representative in the Kwadabazi (Mapopoma) sub-district; his portion is recognized by Government and he is entitled to try civil cases. His decisions, after being recorded at the magistracy, will if necessary be enforced by the Government's Court Messenger. He is one of the King's most important advisers.

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three pagan brothers, came dressed in his best European clothes. He is "son" to Matolana, for his father's mother was Matolana's father's sister, and he prepared Matolana's attire for state occasions—khaki uniform jacket, riding breeches, boots and leather gaiters. When we were about to leave the homestead we were delayed by the arrival of a Zulu Government policeman, in uniform and pushing his bicycle, with a handcuffed prisoner, a stranger in our district who was accused of sheep-stealing elsewhere. The policeman and prisoner greeted Matolana and me, and we gave the policeman, who is a member of a collateral branch of the Zulu Royal family, the salutes due to a prince (*umtwana*). He then reported to Matolana how he, assisted by one of Matolana's private policemen,[1] had arrested the prisoner. Matolana upbraided the prisoner, saying he would have no *izigeßengu* (scoundrels) in his district, then turned to the policeman and criticised Government which expected him and his private police to assist it in arresting dangerous people, but paid them nothing for this work and would not compensate their dependants if they were killed. He then pointed out that he, who worked many hours administering the law for Government, had no salary; he had a good mind to stop doing this work and go back to the mines where he used to earn ten pounds a month as a "boss-boy."

The policeman went on with his prisoner. We drove in my car to Nongoma, stopping on the way to pick up an old man who is the head of his own small Christian sect with a church building in his homestead; he regards himself as supreme in his church but his congregation, which is not recognised by Government, is referred to by the people as part of the Zionists, a large separatist Native church.[2] He was going to Nongoma to attend the afternoon meeting as a representative from Mapopoma district, a role he always fills partly because of his age, partly because he is the head of one of the local kinship-groups. Anyone may attend and speak at these meetings, but there are representatives recognised as such by the small districts. At the hotel in Nongoma we separated, the three Zulu to breakfast in the kitchen at my expense, and I to a bath, and then breakfast. I sat at a table with L. W. Rossiter, Government Veterinary Officer (*infra* G.V.O.) for the five districts of Northern Zululand.[3] We discussed the condition of roads and local Native cattle sales. He also was going to the opening of the bridge as, like myself, he had a personal interest in it since it was built under the direction of J. Lentzner of the

[1] Appointed by Matolana with the approval of magistrate and Zulu King. They get a small part of court fees.
[2] Found in Zululand, Natal, Swaziland and perhaps elsewhere.
[3] He is an official of the Department of Agriculture, not of Native Affairs, and is independent of the Native Affairs officials.

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Native Affairs Department Engineering Staff, a close friend and old schoolfellow of both of us. The G.V.O. suggested that Matolana, Richard and I should travel to the bridge in his car; he was taking only one of his Native staff with him. He already, through me, had friendly relations with both Matolana and Richard. I went to the kitchen to tell them we were going with the G.V.O. and stayed a while talking with them and the Zulu hotel servants. When we came out and met the G.V.O., they exchanged greetings and polite questions about each other's health and Matolana had a number of complaints (for which he is noted among officials) about the cattle dipping. Most of the complaints were technically unjustified. The G.V.O. and I sat in the front of the car, the three Zulu at the back.[1]

The significance of a ceremonial opening of the bridge was that it was the first bridge built in Zululand by the Native Affairs Department under the new schemes of Native development. It was opened by H. C. Lugg, Chief Native Commissioner for Zululand and Natal (*infra* C.N.C.)[2]. It is built across the Black Umfolosi River at Malungwana Drift, in Mahlabatini magisterial district, on a branch road to Ceza Swedish Mission Hospital, a few miles upstream from where the main Durban-Nongoma road crosses the river on a concrete causeway. The Black Umfolosi rises rapidly in heavy rains (sometimes twenty feet) and becomes impassable; the main purpose of the bridge which is a low level (five foot) bridge is to enable the Mahlabatini magistrate to communicate with part of his district which lies across the river, during slight rises of the river. It also makes possible access to the Ceza Hospital which is famous among Zulu for its skill in midwifery; women often go up to seventy miles to be confined there.

We drove along discussing, in Zulu, the various places we passed. I noted of our conversation only that the G.V.O. asked Matolana what the Zulu law of punishment for adultery is, as one of his Zulu staff was being prosecuted by the police for living with another man's wife, though he had not known she was married. Where the road forks to Ceza, the Mahlabatini magistrate had posted a Zulu in full warrior's dress to direct visitors. On the branch road we passed the car of Chief Mshiyeni, Regent of the Zulu Royal House, who was driving from his home in

[1] The G. V. O. was born in Swaziland; he speaks a rapid, and rather pidgin, Zulu with a strong tendency to Swazi pronunciation.

[2] For his status see Roger's *Native Administration in South Africa*. Under the Secretary of Native Affairs for the Union he is head of the Native Affairs Department in Zululand and Natal. Under him are Native Commissioners (who are also Magistrates) in each of the districts into which Natal and Zululand is divided.

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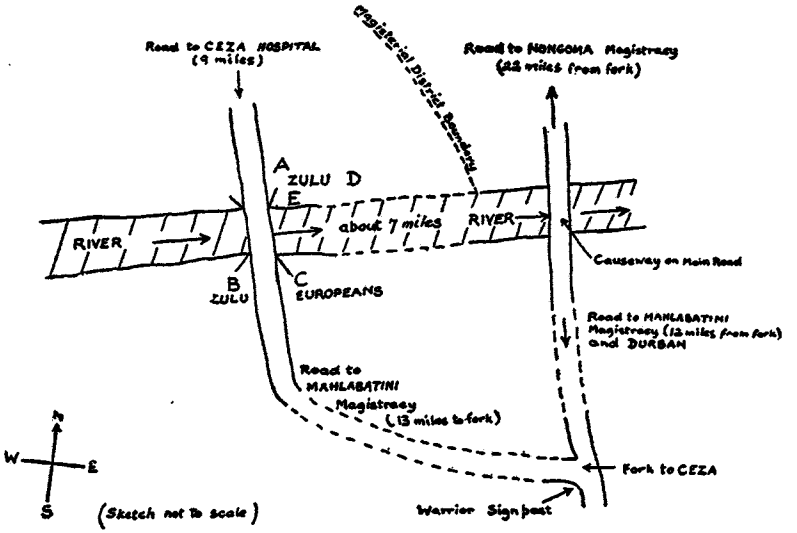
Nongoma district to the bridge. The Zulu in the car gave him the royal salute and we greeted him. His chauffeur was driving the car and he was attended by an armed and uniformed aide-de-camp and another courtier.




The bridge lies in a drift, between fairly steep banks. When we arrived, a large number of Zulu was assembled on both banks (at A and B in sketch map); on the southern bank, on one side of the road (at C) was a shelter where stood most of the Europeans. They had been invited by the local magistrate, and included the Mahlabatini office staff; the magistrate, assistant magistrate and court messenger from Nongoma; the district surgeon; missionaries and hospital staff; traders and recruiting agents; police and technical officials; and several Europeans interested in the district, among them C. Adams, who is auctioneer at the cattle-sales in Nongoma and Hlabisa districts. Many were accompanied by their wives. The Chief Native Commissioner and Lentzner arrived later, and also a representative of the Natal Provincial Roads Department. The Zulu present included local chiefs and headmen and their representatives; the men who had built the bridge; Government police; the Native Clerk of Mahlabatini magistracy, Gilbert Mkhize; and Zulu from the surrounding district. Altogether there were about twenty-four Europeans and about four hundred Zulu present.

Arches of branches had been erected at each end of the bridge and across the one at the southern end a tape was to be stretched which the Chief Native Commissioner would break with his car. At this arch stood a warrior in war-dress, on guard. The G.V.O. spoke to him, for he

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is a local *induna*,[1] about affairs at the local dip, and then introduced me to him, so that I could tell him about my work and request his assistance. The G.V.O. and I were caught up in conversation with various Europeans while our Zulu joined the general body of Natives. Matolana was welcomed with the respect due to an important adviser of the Regent. When the Regent arrived, he was given the royal salute and joined his subjects, quickly collecting about himself a small court of important people. The Chief Native Commissioner was the next to arrive: he greeted Mshiyeni and Matolana, enquired about the latter's gout, and discussed (I gathered) some Zulu affairs with them. He then went round greeting the Europeans. The opening was delayed for Lentzner, who was late.

About 11.30 a.m. a party of the Zulu who built the bridge assembled at the north end of the bridge. They were not in full wardress but carried sticks and shields. The important Zulu were nearly all dressed in European riding clothes, though the King wore a lounge suit; common people were in motley combinations of European and Zulu dress.[2] The body of armed warriors marched across the bridge till they stood behind the tape at the southern arch: they saluted the Chief Native Commissioner with the Royal Zulu salute, *Bayete*, then they turned to the Regent and saluted him. Both acknowledged the salute by raising their right arms. The men began to sing the *ihubo* (clan-song) of the Butelezi clan (the clan of the local chief, who is chief adviser of the Zulu Regent), but were silenced by the Regent. Proceedings now opened with a hymn in English, led by a missionary from Ceza Swedish mission. All the Zulu, including the pagans, stood for it and removed their hats. Mr. Phipson, Mahlabatini magistrate, then made a speech in English, which was translated into Zulu, sentence by sentence, by his Zulu clerk, Mkhize.[3] He welcomed everybody and specially thanked the Zulu for assembling for the opening; he congratulated the engineers and Zulu workmen on the bridge and pointed out the value it would be to the district. Then he introduced the C.N.C. The C.N.C. (who knows the Zulu language and customs well) spoke first in English to the Europeans, then in Zulu to the Zulu, on the theme of the great value of the bridge; he pointed out that it was but one example of all that Government was doing to develop the Zulu reserves. The representative of the Provincial Roads Department spoke shortly and said that his Department had never believed a low

[1] i.e. a minor political officer; I use the term as it is used in Government legislation and is being accepted as a word in South Africa.

[2] Christians wear full European dress, pagans usually shirts and perhaps coats over skin girdles (*i beshu* = skin girdle, pagan).

[3] I cannot reproduce this speech, or any other, in detail, as I could not make notes of them till later in the day, and mention here only salient points.

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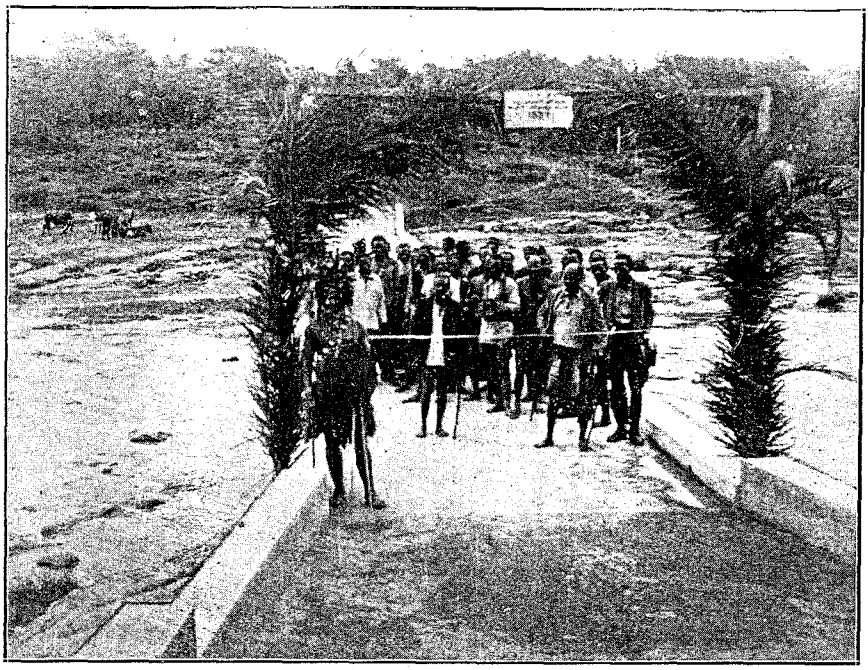
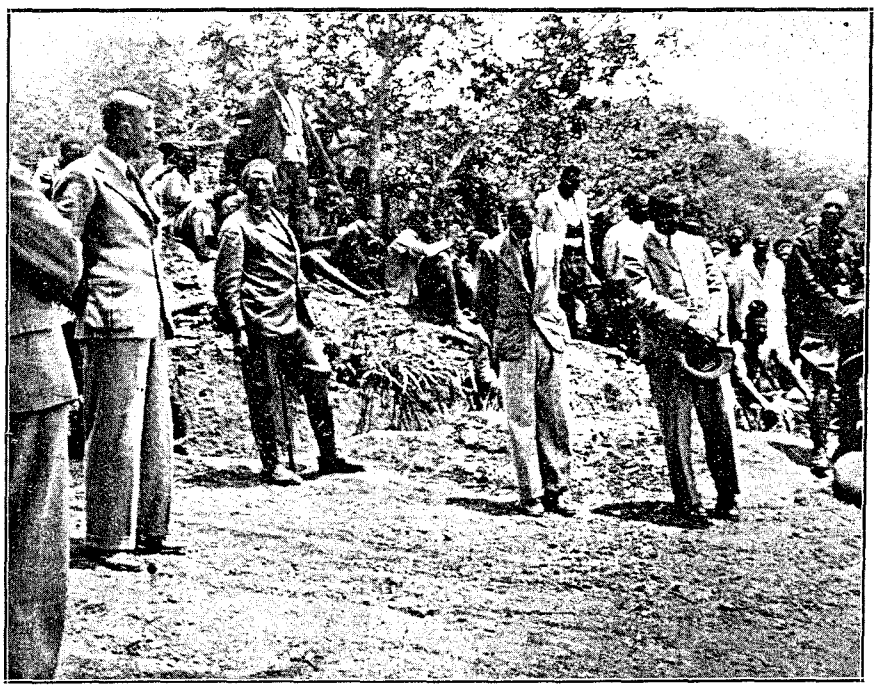
*Plate 1*



Zulu cross the bridge to welcome the C.N.C. and Regent. *Note* man in war-dress on guard ; men's clothes ; notice in English.

*Plate 2*



The C.N.C. speaking. (From left to right) Mahlabatini magistrate, C.N.C., Matolana, interpreter Mkize, Mshiyeni, Zulu Government policeman. This photograph was taken from the European group. *Note* man in war-dress between Mshiyeni and policeman. Behind him, in white coat, is Mshiyeni's chauffeur.

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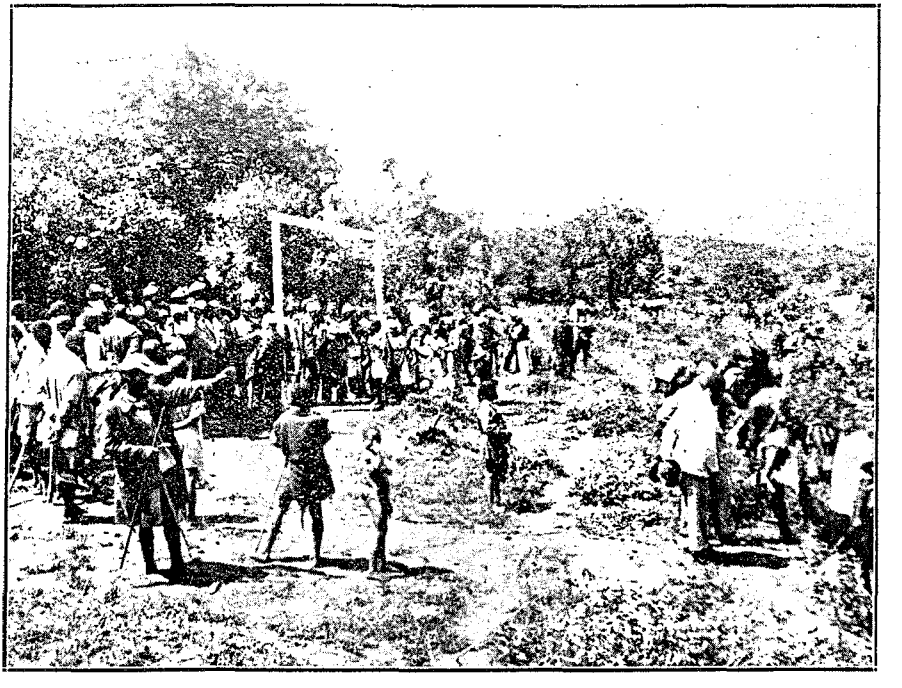
Warriors, singing the *ihuβo*, lead the cars back. *Note* man chanting with his stick lifted; in left foreground, next to policeman, is an *induna* in the military garb much favoured by Zulu.

*Plate 4*



On the northern bank after the opening, looking east from the road. On left, round goalposts, the missionary (in front of nearer post) leads the hymn singing. At nearer end of this group are a number of pagans. On right cattle are being cut up. Behind the Zulu in the white jacket is the G.V.O. who is talking to him and the Zulu in war-dress. In middle distance, behind the two cattle, is the clump of trees where the Regent's party is.

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level bridge would stand up to the Umfolosi floods, though they had been pressed to build one; he congratulated the Native Affairs engineers on the present bridge which though built at little cost had already stood under five feet of flood water; and added that the Provincial Department was going to build a high-level bridge on the main road.[1] Adams, an old Zululander, was the next speaker, in English and in Zulu, but he said little of interest. The final speech was by the Regent Mshiyeni, in Zulu, translated sentence by sentence into English by Mkhize. Mshiyeni thanked the Government for the work it was doing in Zululand, said the bridge would enable them to cross the river in floodtime and would make it possible for their wives to go freely to the Ceza Hospital to have their children; he appealed to the Government, however, not to forget the main road where the river had often held him up and to build a bridge there. He announced that the Government was giving a beast to the people and that the C.N.C. had said that they must pour the gall over the feet of the bridge according to Zulu custom,[2] for good luck and safety for their children when crossing the bridge. The Zulu laughed and clapped this. The Regent ended and was given the royal salute by the Zulu who, following the Europeans' lead, had clapped the other speeches. The C.N.C. entered his car and, led by warriors singing the Butelezi *ihubo*, drove across the bridge; he was followed by the cars of a number of other Europeans and of the Regent, in haphazard order. The Regent called on the Zulu for three cheers (hurrahs, Zulu *hule*). The cars turned on the further bank, and still led by the warriors, returned; on the way they were stopped by the European magisterial clerk who wanted to photograph them. All Zulu present sang the Butelezi *ihubo*.

The Europeans went into the shelter and had tea and cake. A woman missionary took some outside to the Regent. In the shelter the Europeans were discussing current Zululand and general affairs; I did not follow this as I went to the northern bank where the Zulu were assembling. The local Zulu had presented the Regent with three beasts and these, as well as the Government beast, were shot on the northern bank by him and his *aide-de-camp* amid great excitement. The Regent ordered Matolana to select men to skin and cut up the cattle for distribution. The Regent withdrew to a nearby copse (D on the sketch) to talk with his people and drink Zulu beer of which large quantities were brought for him. He sent four pots, carried by girls, to the C.N.C. who drank from one pot and kept it; he told the carriers to drink from the others

[1] Main roads, and bridges on them, are cared for by the Province, branch roads in Native Territories by the Union Native Affairs Department.
[2] Mshiyeni is a Christian.

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and then give them to the people.[1] This is proper according to Zulu etiquette.

The C.N.C. and nearly all the Europeans went away ; most of the Zulu had assembled on the northern bank. There they were divided, roughly, into three groups. At the copse (sketch map, D) was the Regent with his own and local *indunas*, sitting together, while further off were the common people. They were drinking beer and talking while they waited for meat. Just above the river bank at A (sketch map) were groups of men rapidly cutting up three beasts under Matolana's supervision ; they were making a great noise, chattering and shouting. The G.V.O., Lentzner and the district European Agricultural Officer were watching them. Behind them, further up the bank, the Swedish missionary had collected a number of Christians who were lined up singing hymns under his direction. In their ranks I noticed a few pagans. Lentzner got two warriors to pose on either side of him for a photograph on his bridge. Singing, chattering, talking and cooking continued till we left ; I passed from group to group except for the hymn-singers, but most of the time I talked with Matolana and Matole, the Butelezi chief, whom I met that day for the first time. Matolana had to stay to attend on the Regent and we arranged that the latter should bring him to the Nongoma meeting. We left with Richard and the veterinary office-boy. The gathering at the bridge was to last all day.

We lunched, again apart from the Zulu, in Nongoma and went to the magistracy for the meeting. About 200-300 Zulu were present, chiefs, indunas and commoners. The start of the meeting was delayed some time as Mshiyeni had not yet arrived but finally the magistrate started it without him. After a general discussion of district affairs (cattle sales, locusts, breeding from good bulls),[2] the members of two of the tribes in the district were sent out of the meeting. There are three tribes, the Usuthu, the tribe of the Royal House, who are the personal followers of the Zulu King (to-day the Regent) and over them only has he legal jurisdiction, though nearly every tribe in Zululand and Natal acknowledges his authority ; (2) the Amateni, which is ruled by one of the King's classificatory fathers, and which is one of the Royal tribes ; and (3) the Mandlakazi, which is ruled by a prince of a collateral Zulu House and which split from the Zulu nation in civil wars which followed on the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879-80. This tribe was told to remain as the

[1] I observed this from across the river.

[2] These meetings are held at least once a quarter and all matters affecting the district are discussed by officials, chiefs and people. Special meetings are also called when necessary.

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magistrate wanted to discuss with them faction fights which were occurring between two of their tribal sections ; the Amateni chief and his chief *induna* were told they could remain (Mshiyeni, the Usuthu chief was not yet there), but the magistrate did not want the common people of other tribes to hear him reprimand the Mandlakazi.[1] This he did in a long speech, reproaching them for spoiling the homestead of Zibebu (*umzi kaZibebu*, i.e. the tribe of the great prince, Zibebu), and for putting themselves in a position where they had to sell their cattle to pay court fines instead of to feed, clothe and educate their wives and children.[2] While he was speaking Mshiyeni, attended by Matolana, came in, and all the Mandlakazi rose to salute him, interrupting the magistrate's speech. Mshiyeni apologised for being late, then sat down with the other chiefs. When the magistrate had spoken at some length in this strain he asked the Mandlakazi chief to speak, which the latter did. He upbraided his *indunas* and the princes of the quarrelling tribal sections, then sat down. Various *indunas* spoke justifying themselves and blaming the others ; one, a man who according to other Zulu is currying favour with the magistrate for political promotion, spent his speech praising the wisdom and kindliness of the magistrate. A prince of the Mandlakazi house, who is a member of one of the fighting sections and who is also a Government policeman, complained that the other section was being assisted in the fights by members of the Usuthu tribe who live in Matolana's ward near them. Finally Mshiyeni spoke. He cross-examined the Mandlakazi indunas fiercely, told them it was their duty to see who started the fights and arrest them, and not allow the blame to be borne by everybody who fought. He exhorted the Mandlakazi not to ruin the " homestead of Zibebu " and said that if the *indunas* could not watch over the country better they should be deposed. He denied the charge that his people were participating in the fights.[3] The magistrate endorsed all the Regent had said and dismissed the meeting.

### 3. *Analysis of the Social Situations*

I have presented a typical sample of my field-data. It consists of several events which were linked by my presence as an observer, but which occurred in different parts of Northern Zululand and involved different groups of people. Through these situations, and by contrasting them with other situations not described, I shall try to trace the social

[1] He told me this privately.
[2] The quarrel was about some slight insult.
[3] Later he forbade his people to attend Mandlakazi weddings where the fights started and also made a law that no one should dance with sticks, so that if a fight did start no harm would be done.

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structure of modern Zululand. I call them social situations since I am analysing them in their relationship with other situations in the social system of Zululand.

All events which involve or affect human beings are socialised, from the falling of rain and earthquakes to birth and death, eating and defoecation. If the mortuary ceremonies are performed for a man that man is socially dead; initiation makes a youth socially a man, whatever his physical age. Events involving human beings are studied by many sciences. Thus eating is the subject of physiological, psychological and sociological analysis. Analysed in relation to defoecation, blood circulation, etc., eating is a physiological situation; in relation to a man's mentality it is a psychological situation; in relation to the community's systems of production and distribution, its taboos and religious values, its social groupings, eating is a sociological situation. Where an event is studied as part of the field of sociology, it is therefore convenient to speak of it as a social situation. A social situation is thus the behaviour on some occasion of members of a community as such, analysed and compared with their behaviour on other occasions, so that the analysis reveals the underlying system of relationships between the social structure of the community, the parts of the social structure, the physical environment, and the physiological life of the community's members.[1]

At the outset I must note that the chief situation was one arising in a particular form in Zululand for the first time.[2] That Zulu and Europeans could co-operate in the celebration at the bridge shows that they form together a community with specific modes of behaviour to one another. Only by insisting on this point can one begin to understand the behaviour of the people as I have described it. I make the point specifically, though it may seem unnecessary, because it has been criticised recently by Malinowski in his introduction to the theoretical essays of seven field-workers on "culture contact." He attacks Schapera and Fortes for adopting an approach which I had forced on me by my material.[3]

[1] See Fortes, M. "Communal Fishing and Fishing Magic in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXVII (1937) pp. 131 ff.; and especially Evans-Pritchard, E.E., *Witchcraft Magic and Oracles among the Azande*, Clarendon Press 1937, and forthcoming book on the Nuer. Also Malinowski, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, for the sociological significance of social situations.

[2] Nevertheless it is similar to the opening of bridges etc. in Europeans areas and to the opening of schools and agricultural shows in Zululand.

[3] *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, (Oxford University Press, 1938), Memorandum XV of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, *passim*. I believe that the failure to realise the theoretical importance of this point has weakened, even distorted, some recent studies of social change in Africa, though of course all workers have recognised many of the facts.

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In the second half of this article I shall examine the value of this approach for the study of social change in Africa ; here I note only that the existence of a single Black-White community in Zululand must be the starting point of my analysis. The events at Malungwana bridge—which was planned by European engineers and built by Zulu labourers, which would be used by a European magistrate ruling over Zulu and by Zulu women going to a European hospital, which was opened by European officials and the Zulu Regent in a ceremony which included not only Europeans and Zulu but also actions historically derived from European and Zulu cultures—must be related to a system at least part of which consists of Zulu-European relations. Those relations can be studied as social norms, as is shown by the way in which Blacks and Whites, without constraint, adapt their behaviour to one another. Therefore I can speak of " Zululand " and " Zululanders " to cover Whites and Blacks, while " Zulu " connotes Blacks alone.

It would be possible to describe many different motives and interests which brought various people to the spot. The local magistrate and his staff attended in duty and organised the ceremony because they were proud of the valuable addition of the bridge to the district. The C.N.C. (according to his speech) agreed to open the bridge in order to show his personal interest in, and to emphasise, the schemes of development undertaken by the Native Affairs Department. A reference to the list of Europeans present at the ceremony shows that those in Mahlabatini district attended because they had an official or personal interest in the district or bridge. Moreover, in the monotonous life of Europeans on a reserve station any event is a recreation. Most Europeans also feel a sense of duty to attend these events. These last two reasons probably applied to the visitors from Nongoma. The G.V.O. and I had the pull of friendship, as well as of our work, to bring us there. It may be noted that several Europeans brought their wives, which only a few Christian

(See e.g. Hunter, M. *Reaction to Conquest*, Oxford University Press 1936, on the Pondo of South Africa ; Mair L. *An African people in the Twentieth Century*, Routeledge, London 1934, on the Ganda ; Meek, C.K. *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*, Oxford University Press 1937, on the Ibo.) It is surprising that anthropologists should suffer from a fault which could not occur to historians (see e.g. works of W. M. Macmillan and J. S. Marais), economists (see e.g. S. H. Frankel), psychologists (see e.g. I. D. Macrone) or even some Government Commissions (see e.g. Native Economic Commission, Union Government Printer, Pretoria, 22/1932). Possibly it is because anthropologists have not rid themselves as they claim of the archaeological bias. However, Malinowski does elsewhere in the same introduction show the absurdity of not adopting the point of view he criticises theoretically. " I would like to meet the ethnographer who could accomplish the task of sorting out a Westernized African into his component parts." *loc cit* at p. xxii.

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Zulu (like Mshiyeni) would do in similar situations.[1] Among the Zulu, the Regent, honoured by being invited (as he need not have been), doubtless came to show his prestige and to meet some of his people whom he rarely sees. The Zulu clerk and Government police were there in the way of duty, and Chief Matole and local indunas because it was an important event in their district. The Zulu labourers who had built the bridge were specially honoured, and probably many local Zulu were attracted by the feast, excitement and the Regent's presence.[2] We have seen that it was their unusual relationship with me that brought Matolana and Richard to the bridge; they and the G.V.O.'s Zulu were the only Zulu besides the Regent's party coming from a distance. For the Zulu, it was a more localized event than for Europeans. This is an index of the greater mobility of, and intercommunication between, Europeans whose scattered groups in Native reserves have a strong sense of community. Most Nongoma Europeans knew about the opening, few Nongoma Zulu knew about the bridge at all. The local magistrate desired to make a show of the completing of the bridge, and therefore invited important Europeans and Zulu and called on local Zulu to attend on an appointed day. Thus he focussed all these interests in the ceremony.

It was also the local magistrate who determined the form of the ceremony after the tradition of similar ceremonies in European communities, and added Zulu elements where possible to enable the Zulu to participate and probably to give a touch of colour and excitement to the celebrations (e.g. the Zulu warrior to point the way to the bridge and not a policeman). Similarly, the C.N.C. suggested, after a hymn had been sung, that the bridge be blessed in Zulu fashion. Thus the main pattern of the ceremony itself (Zulu warriors marching over the bridge, hymn, speeches, breaking of the tape, tea-party) was determined by the fact that it was organised by an official with a background of European culture but living in close contact with Zulu culture. However, the magistrate only had power to do this as representative of Government, and it was Government who built the bridge. Apart from the Regent, only Government in Zululand can make an event of general public importance to Zulu and Europeans, and therefore we may say that it is the organising power of Government in the district which gave a particular structural form to the many diverse elements present. So too Government's power gave structural form to the meeting in Nongoma. On the other hand, when Mshiyeni held a meeting of 6,000 Zulu in the town of Vryheid to discuss

[1] The only Zulu women present were from the neighbourhood; but Mshiyeni is often accompanied by his wife to similar celebrations. I have never heard of a pagan chief taking his wife to public meetings.

[2] I did not enquire carefully enough into these points.

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the debates of the first meeting of the Union Native Representative Council, though European officials, police and spectators were present and the matters discussed were mostly concerned with Zulu-European relations, it was the power and individual caprice of the Regent, within the inherited pattern of Zululand culture, which organised the meeting. That is, the political power of both Government or Zulu King are important organising forces to-day. But European police were present at the " Regent's " meeting to help keep it in order if necessary, though they were not needed. In fact, at the bridge the Regent (as he often does on similar occasions) stole the celebration from the Europeans and organised a feast of his own.

Though the magistrate planned, and had power to organise, the ceremony within the limits of certain social traditions, and make innovations to meet local conditions, the organisation of groupings, and many of the actions, were, of course, not planned. The subsidiary, unplanned patterning of the day's events took form according to the structure of modern Zululand society. Many of the incidents I recorded occurred spontaneously and haphazardly (e.g. the G.V.O. discussing dipping affairs with the *induna* on guard at the bridge, the missionary organising the hymn-singing) but they fitted easily into the general pattern, as similar situations involving individuals fit into funeral or wedding ceremonies. Thus the most significant part of the day's situations—the appearances and inter-relationships of certain social groups and personalities and cultural elements—crystallised some of the social structure and institutions of present-day Zululand.

Those present were divided into two colour-groups, Zulu and European, whose direct relationships were most marked by separation and reserve. As groups, they assembled at different places and it is impossible for them to meet on equal terms. I was living in close intimacy with Matolana's family in his homestead, but in the cultural milieu of the Nongoma hotel we had to separate for our meals : I could no more eat with Zulu in the kitchen than they could with me in the dining-room. Separation appears throughout Zulu-European behaviour patterns. However, socially enforced and accepted separation can be a form of association, indeed co-operation, even where carried to the extreme of avoidance, as witness the silent trade in West Africa in ancient times. This separation implies more than distinction which is axiomatically present in all social relationships. Black and White are two categories which must not mix, like castes in India, or the categories of men and women in many communities. On the other hand, though a son is distinct from his father in their social relationship, he in his turn becomes

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a father. In Zululand a Black can never become a White.[1] To the Whites the maintenance of this separation is a dominant value which emerges in the policy of so-called " segregation " and " parallel development," terms whose lack of real content is indicated by the following analysis.

Nevertheless, though Zulu and Europeans are organised in two groups at the bridge, their presence there implies that they are united in celebrating a matter of mutual interest. Even then their behaviour to one another is awkward in a way that behaviour within colour-groups is not. Their relations indeed are more often marked by hostility and conflict which emerged slightly, during the day, in Matolana's complaints against dipping and in the existence of the dissident Zulu church sect.

The schism between the two colour-groups is itself the pattern of their main integration into one community. They do not separate into groups of equal status ; the Europeans are dominant. The Zulu could not, save by permission as domestic servants making tea, enter the White group's reserves, but Europeans could more of less freely move among the Zulu, watching them and taking photographs, though few chose to do so. Even the cup of tea given to the Regent as tribute to his royalty was brought to him across the road. The dominant position of Europeans appears whenever individuals of the two groups meet on the ground of common interest, breaking down the separation, as, for example, the G.V.O's. discussion of dipping with the two *indunas*, or the way in which the Regent, meeting Europeans even without official rank, addresses them as *nkosi* (chief), *nkosana* (little chief, if young), or *numzana* (important man.)

The two groups are distinguished in their interrelationships in the social structure of the South African community of which Zululand is a part, and in this inter-relationship one can trace separation and conflict, and co-operation, in socially defined modes of behaviour. In addition, they are distinguished by differences of colour and race, of language, beliefs, knowledge, traditions, and material possessions. These differences are also, in the co-operation of the two groups, balanced by customs of communication. The two sets of problems involved are closely inter-connected, but may to a certain extent be handled separately.

The functioning of the social structure of Zululand is to be seen in political, ecological[2] and other activities. Politically, it is clear that

[1] There have been, and possibly still are, cases of White men " going Native " ; they cannot then mix with the White group.

[2] I use this term to cover all activities directly related to the physical enviroment —agriculture, mining, etc.—or to the physiology of people—health, death, etc. As stated above, all these resources and events are socialised.

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dominant power is vested in Government of the White group under whom the chiefs, in one of their social roles, are subordinate officials. Government holds the ultimate sanction of force, of fining and imprisonment, which can stop the faction fights in the Mandlakazi tribe, though Government's representative, the magistrate, tries to keep the peace through Zulu political officers. Though the vociferous welcome given by the Mandlakazi to Mshiyeni showed that they recognised his social superiority, it was the power of Government which enabled him to interfere in the internal affairs of a tribe which has broken away from his, the Royal Zulu House.[1] Government is the dominant factor in all political affairs to-day. Though a chief appoints his *indunas*, one *induna* is said to strive for political power by currying favour with the magistrate. Zulu political officers are an important part of Government's judicial and administrative machinery. Their duty to Government is to keep order, to assist the Government police, to take cases, to help at dips and in many other routine matters. However, they have no right to try major criminal offences and only Government can trace wrongdoers (e.g. the sheep stealer) from district to district. Nevertheless, as a result of the schism between the two colour-groups, there is a difference in the relationship of Zulu people to European and Zulu officials. Both the C.N.C. and the Regent were given the Zulu royal salute by the warriors, but the former's presence called for three cheers, the Regent's and local chief's for the singing of Zulu tribal songs. The C.N.C. spoke with important Zulu he knew, by the way ; he was sent beer but drank tea with the White group. The Regent sat with the Blacks, drinking beer with, and talking to, them, long after the Europeans had dispersed. Government provided one beast for the people ; the Regent was presented by the people with three beasts and beer which he had distributed among them.

Government has not only judicial and administrative functions ; it plays an important part in ecological activities. Even from the data before us, we see that it built the bridge which was paid for by taxes it collected from the Zulu ; it employs district surgeons, agricultural officers, and engineers ; it organises dipping and cattle sales, and builds roads. In this part of Government work chiefs and *indunas*, where they have any part, do not enter as simply as they do into the administrative and judicial machinery. Though the chiefs might sympathise with the Mandlakazi faction fighters in a way the magistrate could not, they felt, with the magistrate, that peace within a tribe is to be valued. But Matolona was full of unscientific complaints against dipping which he evaluates in a

[1] It may be noted that it was the British Government's position in Zulu politics in 1878-1888 which enabled the Mandlakazi to become independent of the Royal House.

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different cultural idiom from the Government Veterinary Officer's.[1] Though the Zulu welcomed the bridge and Mshiyeni on behalf of his people thanked Government for what it does for the Zulu, on many occasions the people consider it to be the duty of their chiefs to oppose Government projects.[2]

In the wider economic aspect of Zululand life, Zulu and Europeans are equally interrelated. I have noted that Zulu domestic servants were allowed into the Europeans' shelter and that the bridge was planned by Europeans but built by Zulu. Present at the opening was the labour recruiter for the Rand Gold Mines. These facts are indices of the role which Zululand Natives, in common with Natives from other areas, play as unskilled labour in the economic activities of South Africa. At the bridge were Zulu Government police and (more skilled) a Zulu clerk. On the money Zulu earn working for Europeans, they are dependent to pay their taxes (which paid for the bridge and technical officials) and to buy goods from European traders, or to get money they can elect to sell cattle to Europeans through Government cattle sales, whose auctioneer was at the bridge. For a large part of their subsistence they depend on farming which Government is trying to improve through agricultural officers.

This economic integration of Zululand into the South African industrial and agricultural system dominates the social structure. The labour flow includes practically all able-bodied Zulu; at any moment about one-third of the men in Nongoma district are away at work. There they are organised by their employment into working groups such as are known in all industrial countries. There is a tendency for kinsmen and fellow-tribesmen to go to work together, and to live together in municipal barracks or locations.[3] Some employers, as the Rand Mines, deliberately house their workers according to tribes. Nevertheless, in the labour centres the Zulu rub shoulders with Bantu from all over Southern Africa, and, though their Zulu nationality involves them in fights with men of other tribes, they come to participate in groupings whose basis is wider. They scarcely fall under the authority of their chiefs, though Zulu princes are employed as compound *indunas* and police by the Rand mines and Durban barracks. Chiefs visit their followers in towns to collect money and speak to them. However, it is significant that even demonstrations of loyalty to the Zulu king at town meetings have been marked by some

[1] European farmers similarly do not appreciate scientific necessities in farming as technicians do.

[2] See my article on the Zulu in *African Political Organisation*, edited by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, Oxford University Press, 1940.

[3] On these see Phillips, R. E. *The Bantu in the City*. Lovedale Press, *passim*.

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show of hostility to him. At the labour centres the chiefs have no legal status over the people : the legal authorities are White magistrates, location superintendents, police, compound managers and employers, though Zulu chiefs do assert themselves on their visits. Nevertheless, it is only White officials who maintain order and control conditions of work, enforcing contracts, pass laws, etc. The chief may voice protests, no more. Even in the reserves, where the Zulu live by subsistence agriculture, though the White group rules through Zulu organisations, those who work for Europeans come, in this particular relationship, directly under White officials. The Zulu chief has no say in matters involving his tribesmen and Europeans. Government and the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Rand mines work through the chiefs so that Zulu claims are expressed by, and occasionally appear to be satisfied through, the chiefs. The chiefs constantly plead for better treatment and higher wages for Zulu workers, yet at the same time they (and especially Mshiyeni) are as constantly urging their men to go out to work.

The political task of Government is primarily to maintain and control the labour-flow, so as to satisfy, if possible, the labour needs of the Whites and yet to prevent that labour flow resulting in large numbers of Blacks settling in the towns. The Zulu migrant labourer leaves his family in the reserves and returns to them. This inevitably involves the Government in a number of contradictions from which it struggles to escape. In the reserves, the primary task of Government is to maintain law and order, and secondarily (since 1931)[1] it has begun to develop the reserves. To this they have been forced by the denudation of the reserves caused by bad husbandry and overstocking on inadequate land, and these are partly due to the labour flow which provides the Zulu with money to make up for technical deficiencies, and it is possible that ultimately the need for labour may stultify developmental work.

I cannot here enlarge on these important points. As evidence that development is secondary to the labour flow and natural demands, I cite the wish of the Rand mines that they should themselves develop the Transkei where impoverishment of the reserves has undermined health in one of their largest labour reservoirs. Second, the Nongoma magistrate started cattle sales through which the Zulu could sell their beasts in the open market. The sales were very successful and about 10,000 beasts were sold in a year for £27,000. In 1937 there was a shortage of Native labour in South Africa and a Government Commission was appointed to enquire into it, as it affected European farms. Letters in the Natal

[1] Though health, veterinary and a few other services started very early.

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newspapers ascribed the shortage to the fact that the Zulu, instead of going out to work, sat at home and sold their cattle. (In fact, there were sales in three districts only.)

The magistrate was very proud of the success of his sales and apparently thought they were endangered, for in his evidence to the Commission he repeatedly stressed that the sales had in no way affected the flow of labour. However, one old Zulu, complaining to me of low wages, said: "One day we will teach the Recruiting Corporation a lesson. We will sit at home, sell our cattle and not go to work." I lack space to examine the other contradictions in the South African structure as they appear in Zululand.

The chiefs have little political influence in these fundamental economic aspects of Zululand life. They are not present to control communal life at labour centres, and here there have developed location boards, social groups, and trade unions in which Zulu associate with Bantu of other tribes and nations, and even of other White States. I shall not deal with these in detail as I only made brief enquiries about them on the spot, though I heard about them in Zululand. As regards the trade unions, in Durban there are 750 Native members of four Indian Trade Unions, and it is estimated that about 75% have their homes in reserves. In Johannesburg there are 16,400 Native Trade Unionists, of whom the secretary of the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions estimates that 50% are from reserves.[1] The numbers are very small in relation to the total number of African workers. At a meeting of some 6000 Zulu in Durban, in addition to the Regent, princes, chiefs, missionaries, and teachers, a Native industrial organiser spoke from the platform as one of the nation's leaders. He was loudly applauded. Bantu trade unions are bargaining for better terms for their workers but are not yet an effective political force. Nevertheless Black opposition to European domination, by capitalist and I suspect skilled labour, is beginning to be expressed in industrial terms. There is however a little co-operation between Black and White trade unionists.[2]

This form of groupings in the labour centres is on an entirely different basis from the tribal groups which accord allegiance to chiefs, but it does not appear to conflict radically with that allegiance, even where it depends on opposition to the Whites. The Zulu migrant labourers' lives are

[1] Figures kindly supplied to me Mr. Lynn Saffery, secretary of the Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg. They were given to him by organisers of African Trade Unions. I cannot say how many are Zulu but probably most of the Durban men are affiliated to the Zulu nation.

[2] See Phillips, *op cit*, Chapter 1.

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sharply divided, and organisations in which he associates in the towns with other Bantu, and Coloured and Indian, even White, workers, function in situations distinct from those which demand tribal loyalty. The two will probably conflict and the result will depend on how the chiefs react to trade union organisation. Today the two forms of grouping develop under different conditions.[1]

Later I shall examine how Zulu opposition to European rule is expressed in religious organisations. All this opposition—through chiefs, churches and trade unions—is not effective and at present gives psychological satisfaction only, since the severity of European domination is increasing.[2] Therefore the opposition occasionally breaks out in riot and assaults on police and officials,[3] which are forcibly repressed. These events provoke violent reaction from the White group and, without apparent basis but in line with modern witchcraft-thought, the immediate accusation without enquiry that they are due to Communist propaganda.

The political and economic ascendancy of Europeans over Zulu, as capitalists and skilled workers on the one hand, and unskilled peasants and labourers on the other, may be paralleled in some respects in other countries. In all these countries the structure can be analysed in similar terms of differentiation and co-operation between economic and political groups. In Zululand, the structure has in addition distinctive features which on the whole enhance the separation of the two groups and complicate their co-operation. The distinction between the two groups in political and ecological activities, which is patently made on the basis of race and colour,[4] coincides with other differences detailed above. In describing the situation I did not draw particular attention to these differences and do not intend here to enlarge upon their details.

We may note that the two groups speak different languages. Knowledge by members of each group of the other group's language, enables

[1] The same argument applies to other urban groupings. On this question of the relationship of reserve and urban organisations, I owe much to a stimulating letter from Dr. Jack Simons, whose researches in urban areas seem to have led him to a similar point of view to the one I reached by researches at the other end of the labour flow.

[2] See Marais, J. S. "The Imposition and Nature of European Control" in *Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, ed. I. Schapera.

[3] e.g. at Vereeneging in 1937 when several constables were killed. Zulu are said to have rioted in Durban in 1930.

[4] It is hardly necessary to note that the term "race" is used completely unscientifically in South Africa. There is a great deal of pseudo-scientific writing and talking on race. (See e.g. Heaton-Nicholls, G. M. *The Native Problem in South Africa*, published by the Enthnological Section of the Native Affairs Department. c.f. Haddon, Huxley and Carr-Saunders, *We Europeans*). I use the term to indicate the basis of social groupings, not the scientific demarcation of races.

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them to communicate, and the post of interpreter is a social institution which overcomes the language barrier. In the ceremony both mechanism enabled the two groups to co-operate. Within its separate sphere each group uses its own language though words of the other language are commonly used. Pidgin Zulu-English-Afrikaans has developed as another mode of communication.

The two groups have on the whole different modes of life, customs and beliefs. All Europeans in the Reserves have specialised activities; the Zulu, though they also work for Europeans, are unskilled peasants, allowed to farm only in the areas reserved for them. There they live under a type of social organisation, by values and customs, which are different from those of the European group, though at every point affected by its presence. However, even where the differences between Zulu and Europeans are marked, they adapt their behaviour to each other in socially determined ways when they associate with one another. Thus European officials often make a deliberate effort to meet the Zulu groups, as seen in the use of Zulu warriors in the ceremony and the pouring of gall. Further, in situations of association, there is a regular mode of reaction of each group to certain of the customary practices of the other group, even where the two groups evaluate these practices differently. Zulu pagans stood and removed their hats for the hymn-singing in English, and clapped speeches, adopting European customs. The Chief Native Commissioner accepted the gift of beer as a Zulu chief would, though he remained apart from the Zulu group as a Zulu chief could not. Nevertheless, there remains a wide field of Zulu custom which very rarely enters into Zulu relationships with Europeans, except in so far as all *intra*-Zulu relationships come under the view of Government in law of administration.[1] The European group also has its distinctive culture, allied to the cultures of Western European countries, but stamped throughout by its relations with Natives.

There is also a material basis for the differentiation, and for the co-operation, between Zulu and European. In the situation described the co-operation is centred in the bridge and the river to be crossed, and generally their co-operation is determined by their mutual, if differential and separate, exploitation of natural resources. The material possessions of the individual members of the groups largely differ, both in quantity and quality and technique of use. Some, common among Europeans, are owned by a few Zulu, like cars, rifles, good houses. In the reserves

[1] Of course these Zulu customs as they exist to-day are very different from the Zulu customs of a hundred years ago, owing to contact with Europeans and succeeding internal developments. We are here neglecting the processes of change which have produced present-day customs.

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the Zulu own more land and cattle than Europeans living there, but the differential distribution of land between Natives and Europeans throughout the Union has an important effect on their relationships. I lack space to discuss the relative wealth of Zulu and Europeans and it is difficult to compute this: wages at labour centres, where practically every Zulu is a wage labourer, are much lower for Blacks than for Whites. In the reserves of Northern Zululand (but not in some Southern reserves or on European farms) most Zulu have sufficient land and cattle for their immediate needs and some have large herds. Their material standard of life is patently lower than that of Europeans in the Reserves. Within the two groups there is also a differential distribution of goods between individuals. Since the separation into colour-groups is associated by the White group with ideal standards of living, and many Whites fall below these standards while Blacks rise above it, this has important effects on Black-White relations.[1] The Zulu desire for the material goods of the Europeans, and the Europeans' need for Zulu labour and the wealth obtained by that labour, establishes strong inter-dependent interests between them. It is also a potent source of their conflict. Within the Zulu group, polygynists who need much land, men with large herds of cattle, men who ardently desire European wealth, and others constitute distinct interest groups. Therefore divergent ownership of material goods between and within the two groups complicates the differentiation on the basis of race.

It must be added that relationships between individual Zulu and Europeans vary in many ways from the general social norm, though they are always affected by it. There are impersonal and personal relationships between Zulu and European. The relationship of the Chief Native Commissioner with his thousands of Zulu subjects is impersonal, with Mshiyeni and Matolana it is also personal. Wherever Zulu and Europeans meet one another, personal relations of different kinds, yet always affected by the standard pattern of behaviour, develop. I, as an anthropologist, was in a position to become an intimate friend of Zulu as other Europeans could not, and this I did in virtue of a special type of social relationship, recognized as such by both races. Yet I could never quite overcome the social distance between us. Within special social milieux Europeans and Zulu have friendly relations, in missions, at teachers' training centres, in joint Bantu-European conferences, etc. Here friendliness and co-operation are the social norm, affected by the wider

[1] The wife of a wealthy European, commenting on a European who walked 70 miles to obtain locust-work in Nongoma district, said to me: "When I think of all these Zulu with their cattle, lands and beer.....". She could not finish her sentence. See Carnegie Poor White Commission Report.

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norm of social separation. In other social relationships—between officials and subjects, employers and Black employees, technical officials and their assistants—personal relations develop so as to ease, or to acerbate, the relationship of the two colour-groups. Of the first type ; I cite the way in which the G.V.O. took the trouble to make enquiries, on behalf of one of his Zulu subordinates, about the Zulu law of adultery. He asked it of Matolana because, through me, he had closer and more friendly relations with my Zulu friends than with other Zulu. Some European employers treat their Zulu servants well, and value them as human beings ; others treat them only as servants, yet others continually swear at them and thrash[1] them. Though it is illegal in South Africa, Zulu and Europeans have sexual relations, which are socially disapproved of by both groups. These personal relationships, which depend partly on special social milieux in the social organization, partly on individual differences, sometimes constitute different groups in the social structure. Often they are variations from social norms, and have important effects on those norms which always affect them. I may note that each group selects for attention those actions of the other group out of all proportion to their occurrence, which best fit in with its values. For example, the European farmers bordering the reserve have the reputation of treating their Zulu farm tenants very badly. Whether this reputation be generally justified or not, Zulu are always able to cite individual cases of maltreatment to justify the social belief. If an individual farmer treats his Zulu well, it will not affect other Zulu's ideas of him or his Zulu's ideas of other farmers. Even if farmers did treat their Zulu well, the Zulu cannot generalise their own experiences and since good treatment is quickly forgotten, oppression is remembered, and the social belief will last however many farmers treat their servants well. Similarly, a case in which there was a mere suggestion that a Zulu had made sexual advances to a European girl was sufficient to rouse many of the White group to violent animosity on the grounds that all Blacks have strong sexual desires for White women, though nothing similar had occurred for many years in Zululand.[2]

I come now to consider a special relationship between Zulu and Europeans which also constitutes a social division within the Black group, that into pagans and Christians. During the hymn singing under the missionary the schism between them was marked, though pagans joined Christians and Christians joined pagans. All Christians wear only European clothes and, except for important political authorities, few

[1] Legally allowed under the Master and Servants Act.
[2] The Zulu was discharged by the court without any offence being disclosed.

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pagans do. But the pagans, during the European hymn-singing, doffed their hats, and Christians sang the *ihubo*. Both feasted with the Regent. Both were present at the meeting in Nongoma. For the schism is not absolute. I further noted that while my servant Richard is a Christian and Matolana is a pagan, Richard, as much as his pagan brothers with whom he lives, must treat Matolana as a father. Christians and pagans saluted the Regent; the Regent, a Christian, arranged for the gall to be poured on the bridge. Above all, Christians, like pagans, could not mix with the Europeans. The schism between Christians and pagans is crossed by ties of kinship, colour, political allegiance and culture. The group of Christian Zulu in certain situations, on certain criteria, is associated with the group of Europeans and opposed to the group of pagans, though on other criteria and in other situations they are part of the Black group as a whole opposed to the European group as a whole. Into their membership as a Christian group the White missionary enters. He stayed with the Europeans till they dispersed, then abandoned his membership of the White group and joined the Black group to organise the hymn-singing, thus crystallising the social division of the Zulu into Christian and pagans. This affiliation of the Christian Zulu to both colour-groups creates a certain tension between them and pagan Zulu, which is only partly resolved by the ties between them, and it appears in the existence of the separatist Native Christian sect whose leader I took to Nongoma. This sect (it is one of many) accepts with beliefs in witchcraft some of the tenets and beliefs of Christianity, but protests against European control of Zulu churches and is thus not associated with Europeans in the way that European-controlled churches are.

Other inter-relationships between Zulu and Europeans which have been discussed above may also be considered as constituting social divisions within the Black group, though these are not formalised as the division into Christian and pagans is. I have mentioned the effect of differential wealth. We might classify Zulu into those who work for Europeans and those who do not, and, as nearly all able-bodied Zulu do this work for part of the year, they would at different times fall into different groups. However, if the basis of classification be that we put into one group the Zulu who are in the permanent employ of Government (clerks, Native technical assistants, police, even chiefs and *indunas*) we have a group whose work and interests coincide with Government's as those of other Zulu often do not. The same observation applies to those Zulu who are willing to sell their cattle, anxious to improve their farming or to go to school and hospitals; and it may be noted that these are usually Christians. The division on these grounds comes into the open

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at magisterial meetings, where Christians are more ready than pagans to support the magistrate, and this is a source of conflict between Christians and pagans. Thus the association of certain Zulu with Europeans and their values and beliefs, creates groups within the Zulu which in certain situations cross the separation of interests of Blacks and Whites, but emphasize the difference between them.

Other divisions which appeared during the day within the Zulu group, though affected by Black-White relations, have a tradition of continuity with the social organisation of Zululand before the British occupation. The Zulu are divided into a number of tribes which are further divided into tribal sections and administrative wards. In this political organisation there is a definite hierarchy of princes of the Royal Zulu clan and commoners, of Regent and chief *induna* of the nation, Mandlakazi chief, other chiefs and *indunas*. Some of these political groups and officers are units in the system of European Government rule and at the meeting at Nongoma the magistrate entered into their relationship. Nevertheless, though they are part of Governmental system, they are also groups with a traditional background which to-day gives them a significance for the Zulu other than their purely administrative significance. Though the Regent was not officially recognised as head of the Zulu nation by Government, all Zulu regarded him as supreme over them.[1] It is partly through this political organisation that the Zulu have reacted to European domination, for the Zulu political authorities receive loyalty from their subjects, not only as Government bureaucrats or from sentiment and conservatism, but also because some of the political tension against Government is expressed in that loyalty.[2] In modern Zulu social life, this political organisation is important; it determines groupings at weddings, circles of friends in towns; lines of alignment in faction fights at beer drinks; and the chiefs' and *indunas'* homesteads are centres of community life as well as of administration. This division into tribes creates a source of dissension within the Black group, for the tribes are hostile to one another. Furthermore, the Zulu feel their community as a nation as much against other Bantu nations as against the Europeans, though more and more they are associated with these other Bantu in a single Black group.

Finally, it must be noted that the Zulu, in common with other Bantu, express strong loyalty on occasion to the Government, as in this and the last war. Within a district a popular official gains the friendship and loyalty of Zulu, for it is pleasant and valuable to them to have him over

[1] He has since been made social head of the Zulu nation by Government.
[2] See my article on the Zulu in *African Political Organisation*, cited above.

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them. I do not yet understand their loyalty to Government: it is partly a result of their chief's dependence on Government, and partly because in wartime they express their strong warlike sentiments.

The final set of groupings to be mentioned, is that into homesteads inhabited by a group of agnates and their wives and children. Matolana's homestead comprised at the time: himself; three wives; an engaged son of twenty-one then working in Johannesburg (since married and living there with his bride and child); four other sons from ten to twenty years old, of whom two of the younger ones are Christians; and three daughters. A classificatory sister also often dwelt there and was married from there though her own home was elsewhere. One of his sons, twelve years of age, herded cattle for the husband of another of Matolana's sisters in a homestead about a mile away. Near Matolana's were the homesteads of two of his brothers, one by the same mother, and the other by a common grandfather. The latter's half-brother (by the same father) was considered part of the same *umdeni* (kinship-local group), though he lived in the neighbouring Amateni tribe's territory. Richard's homestead was near Matolana's. He and his wife were the only Christians in it. The headman of the homestead was his eldest brother, under whom were another brother, then Richard, then the youngest brother. They were all the children of one mother who lives with them. All the brothers were married, the two eldest to two wives, and all had children. This homestead was recently moved and Richard built slightly apart from his brothers as he wanted a more permanent hut. Near this Ntombela homestead were four other Ntombela homesteads (Ntombela being a clan surname) and the homestead of a man whose mother was an Ntombela. She married at a distance but left her husband to live in her paternal district. These groups of agnatically related homesteads of many different clans are distributed over the country; they are related to similar groups of their own clan by agnatic ties, and to others by ties of matriliny and affinity. Even where there are not kinship ties between neighbours, they are usually on friendly terms of co-operation.

It is in these groupings of kinsmen and neighbours that a large part of a Zulu's life is spent, and in towns he associates with the same people as in the Reserves, if he can. The kinship groupings especially are strong co-operative units, the members of which assist and depend on each other. They hold their lands close together, graze their cattle together, share farm work, often work together in European areas, assist each other in fights and other difficulties. They have their own tensions which flare up in quarrels leading to lawsuits and charges of sorcery, which sometimes end in the division of homesteads and homestead-groups.

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Nevertheless, in them, with their strong sentimental attachments, the tensions caused by conflict of membership of the other divisions in the Zulu group are partly solved. Though many pagans are opposed and hostile to Christianity, saying it is shattering Zulu culture and integrity, in their dealings with their own Christian kinsmen they act as they do to pagan kinsmen. Here, in family life, there are strong ties to overcome the cleavage between Christians and pagans, between progressive men who adopt European ways and those who do not. On the other hand, it is largely in these groups that the effect of new *mores* is becoming increasingly felt and the ties of kinship are being weakened. In these groups, therefore, when we come to consider the problems of social change, we shall see that the European group markedly affects Zulu behaviour through the Christians who live with their pagan kinsmen and the young men living with their elder relatives.

One might similarly trace social divisions within the White group and examine how they are related to the main organisation into two colour-groups. That study did not fall into the scope of my enquiry, except in so far as it was relevant to White-Black relations or to the internal structure of the Black group itself. I have referred to the relations between Government officials, missionaries, traders, employers, technical experts, on the one hand, and Zulu on the other, and here indicate some of the problems that arise in considering the relationship between these Europeans. An analysis of the values, interests and motives which influence them on individuals, at various times, would show that they, like the Zulu, fall in different situations into different groupings in the social structure of Zululand. The missionary, we have seen, even associates himself temporarily with a Black group, leaving the White group. The harmonious gathering at the bridge is a feature of relations between Blacks and Whites in Reserve territory which would not easily occur in European farm areas or in towns, where the conflicts between the groups are greater. I have remarked on the way in which officials make a deliberate effort to meet the Zulu, and this too is more common in the Reserves. Though officials have to apply the decisions of the White group over the Black group, in the routine of administration many of them become personally attached to their Natives and, as they are keen on their work, anxious for their districts to progress and interested in the welfare of the inhabitants, they occasionally stand for those inhabitants against the White group whose domination they represent. They control, for Government, the relations of traders, recruiters and employers with the Zulu, often in Zulu interests. Thus these latter groups of Europeans are sometimes opposed, as affected in their interests,

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to the administration's work; more often, their interests *vis-a-vis* one another conflict, both between and within the groups constituted by each type of European enterprise. Nevertheless, they unite against the Black group as a whole when they act as members of the White group opposed to the Black group. The missionaries frequently take the side of the Zulu against European exploitation, but it must be added that they are producing Zulu who are for a time readier to accept European values, and therefore domination, though the colour-bar forces many of them to become hostile.

I have outlined the functioning of the social structure of Zululand in terms of the relations between groups, and have indicated some of the complicated ways in which these relations work, since one person may be a member of many groups, sometimes opposed to each other, sometimes united against another group, and since many relationships and interests may intersect in one person, I shall now briefly exemplify how this functions in the behaviour of individuals. I have suggested this already in discussing the Christian group: we have seen the White missionary join for a time a Black group after the other Whites dispersed, Richard affected by ties of kinship to pagans, and modes of behaviour which are common to Christians and pagans. There are other examples. Matolana saluted a Government policeman as a Zulu prince, then complained to him as though he were a representative of Government about how badly he himself is treated by Government. For Government, Matolana assisted in arresting a thief; he protested on behalf of his people to the G.V.O. about dipping; he rejoiced in the power of attending on and working for the Regent; he considered it would be more profitable to abandon his political position under Government and Regent to work for himself. At the Nongoma meeting, a Government policeman who is a Mandlakazi prince complained against the Usuthu of Matolana's district for assisting the faction opposed to his tribal faction in the fight, though at a fight between the same factions he acted as a Government policeman. At the bridge, Zulu Government police and clerk joined the general body of Zulu, isolated from the Europeans whom it is their duty to assist rule the country.

Thus the main groups of Europeans and Zulu are split into subsidiary groups, formalised and unformalised, and membership of these groups changes for the individual according to the interests, values and motives which determine his behaviour in different situations. Though I have approached my analysis through the groupings, an analysis in terms of values and beliefs, as these determine the bahaviour of individuals, would point to similar conclusions. As a sociologist, I am interested in the

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relations of the groups formed by these interests and values, and the conflicts caused by an individual's membership of different groups.

To sum up the situation at the bridge, one may say that the groups and individuals present behave as they do because the bridge, which is the centre of their interests, associates them in a common celebration. As a result of their common interest they act by customs of co-operation and communication, even though the two colour-groups are divided according to the pattern of the social structure. Similarly, within each colour-group, feasting unites the members though they separate according to social relationships within the group. Government's power and the cultural background of its representative, in this situation of co-operation, organise the actions of the groups and individuals into a pattern which excludes conflict. Smaller groups separate out on the basis of common interests and, if it be because of spatial differentiation only (e.g. Christians and pagans), do not conflict with one another.[1] All these group associations, including the whole gathering at the bridge, are harmonious in this situation because of the central factor of the bridge which is a source of satisfaction to all the persons present. By comparing the pattern of this situation with many other situations we have been able to trace the equilibrium of Zululand social structure at a certain period of time ,where by equilibrium I mean the interdependent relations between different parts of the social structure of a community at a particular period. To this analysis I add, as of fundamental importance, that the superior force of the White group (which did not appear in my analysis) is the final social factor in maintaining this equilibrium.

I have tried to show that in the present period Zululand social structure may be analysed as a functioning unit, in a temporary equilibrium. We see that the dominant form of the structure is the existence within a single community of two co-operating colour-groups which are differentiated by a large number of criteria so as to stand opposed and even hostile to one another. The White group is dominant over the Black group in all the activities in which they co-operate, and this dominance is expressed in some social institutions, while all institutions are affected by it. The unequal opposition between the two colour-groups determines the mode of their co-operation. Interests, beliefs, values, types of enterprise and differences of wealth differentiate smaller groups within each colour-group, and there is a coincidence between some of

[1] But I may note here that the missionary complained of the noise made by the men cutting up the dried cattle, during the hymn-singing, and of the somewhat loud conversation of the G.V.O., Lentzner, the Agricultural officer and myself.

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these groups across the colour-line, which interlocks the colour-groups by associating members of them in temporary identity of interests. However, the balance between these groups is affected by the colour-group relationship of conflict and co-operation so that every one of these groups on the one hand links the colour-groups and on the other emphasises their opposition. The shifting membership of groups in different situations is the functioning of the structure, for an individual's membership of a particular group in a particular situation is determined by the motives and values influencing him in that situation. Individuals can thus live coherent lives by situational selection from a medley of contradictory values, ill-assorted beliefs, interests and techniques.[1]

The contradictions become conflicts as the relative frequency and importance of different situations increase in the functioning of the organisations. Rapidly the dominant situations are becoming those involving Black-White relations, and more and more Zulu behave as members of the Black group opposed to the White group. In turn, these situations affect *intra*-Black relations.

Thus the pulls of different values and groups produce strong conflicts in the individual Zulu's personality and in Zululand social structure. These conflicts are part of the social structure whose present equilibrium is marked by what are commonly called maladjustments. The very conflicts, contradictions, and differences between the Zulu and European groups, and within them, and the factors overcoming these differences, have been shown to be the structure of the Zulu-European community of Zululand.[2]

It is these conflicts within the Zululand structure which will lead to its future developments, and by clearly defining them in my analysis of the temporary equilibrium, I hope to relate my cross-section study to my study of change. Therefore, I suggest that in order to study social change in South Africa the sociologist must analyse the equilibrium of the Black-White community at different times and show how successive equilibria are related to one another. I hope in the second half of this article to examine further this process of development in Zululand, when

[1] See Evans-Prichard's *Witchcraft Oracles and Magic among the Azande* op. cit.

[2] I believe "conflict" and the "overcoming of conflict" (fission and fusion) to be two aspects of the same social process and to be present in all social relatione ships. Cf. the theories of dialectical materialism and Freud's theory of ambivalence in the relationships studied by psychology. Evans-Pritchard is the first anthropologist to my knowledge to work out this theme, in his articles, and his forthcoming book, on the Nuer. See also his and Fortes' essays in *African Political Organisation. op cit.* Cf. this approach to the maladjustments in a modern African community with Malinowski's *Methods of Study of Culture Contact,* op. cit., pp. xiii-xv.

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I shall analyse the alteration and adjustment of the balance of groups (the change in equilibrium) involved in the articulation of the Zululand community into racial groups of relatively different culture during the last 120 years.

(To be concluded).

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